

1.

17.3.36.

From S.B. S.H., report re Eric Arthur BLAIR.

1a.

2.

25.8.36.

Copy of S.B. report re BLAIR @ ORWELL.

2a.

3.

28.9.38.

Extract from Press Cutting from Manchester Guardian re ORWELL.

3a.

4.

7.41.

Vetting Enquiry for emp. with B.B.C. for BLAIR.

4a.

5.

18.8.41.

Request for P/p particulars re BLAIR.

5a.

6.

? Nov./41.

Photo of replies by George ORWELL to Questionnaire issued by "LEFT".6a.

7.

24.1.42.

S.B. report re Eric BLAIR.

7a.

8.

4.2.42.

Note from F.2.a. to I.P.I. re BLAIR, and others.

8a.

9.

N.B.

In view of the report at serial 7a which rather contradicts the impression given by ORWELL's writings, I spoke to Inspector Gill of Special Branch asking whether his Sergeant could elaborate on the question of BLAIR's "advanced Communist views." Mr. Gill rang me up this morning to say that Serg. Ewing described BLAIR as being "an unorthodox Communist" apparently holding many of their views but by no means subscribing fully to the Party's policy. I gathered that the good Sergeant was rather at a loss as to how he could describe this rather individual line, hence the expression "advanced Communist Views".

This fits in with the picture we have of BLAIR @ ORWELL. It is evident from his recent writings - "The Lion and the Unicorn" and his contribution to Gollancz's symposium "The Betrayal of the Left" - that he does not hold with the Communist Party nor they with him.

F.2.a.
4.2.42.

(Signed) W. Ogilvie.

10.

12.2.42.

Vetting enquiry from the Ministry of Food for emp. of Mrs BLAIR.

10a.

1

MINUTE SHEET.

Reference P.F. 62162.

11.

18.2.42.

To Min. of Food in reply to 10a re BLAIR, Mrs.

11a.

12.

Filed in Error.

~~5.5.43.~~

~~Extract from Int. letter from M.R. to E. GRANT mentioning ORWELL.~~

~~12a.~~

13.

Filed in Error.

~~22.6.43.~~

~~Extract from Return of Correspondence re ORWELL.~~

~~13a.~~

14.

19.10.43.

From P.R.3. vetting enquiry re Eric Arthur BLAIR.

9a.

15.15

~~F.2.a. through D.4.a.~~

Application has been received for Eric Arthur BLAIR to be accredited correspondent of the "Sunday Observer" at Allied Forces H.Q.

You are, no doubt, aware of the facilities granted to accredited correspondents as apart from visits of ordinary newspaper correspondents; and we would be grateful for your views of the proposed accreditation of BLAIR.

We have not consulted I.P.I. Presumably you will do this if considered necessary.

C.2.a.
19.Oct.43.

G.E. Hogg
G.E. Hogg,
Capt.

16.14

F2 A

After expressing your views please return this to C2A through D4 Q3

W. G. Gilpin

D4 Q3
21/10/43

17.15

C2a through D4 Q3

No Security objection

J. D. H. Hogg
for W. G. Gilpin

[OVER]

21.10.43

Spoke A.D.C. who
decided not necessary
to write A.F.H.Q.
C 2/A

18

We have no objection to Blair going
out to N. Africa, but understand you will
soon able give A.F.H.Q. a brief resumé of
what we know about him.

D4A3 H. Deutscher.
22.10.43

19.

23.10.43. Reply to P.R.3. re E.A. BLAIR.

17a.

20.

19.2.44. Extract from S.B. report re International Youth Council and
World Youth Council, mentioning ORWELL.

20a.

21.

8.12.44. Press cutting from Tribune "As I Please" by George
ORWELL.

21a.

22.

17.11.52 Note (HRSec.) re death of ORWELL

22a

2

THIS IS A COPY
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT RETAINED
IN DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3 (4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958. AUGUST 2006

NOTE.—Personal Identification Papers (e.g., Passport Application Papers, Birth Certificate, Marriage Certificate, Photograph, Specimen of Handwriting, Copy of Aliens Registration Card) are not to be placed in the body of the file but must be enclosed in an envelope attached to the left side of the file.

PERSONAL PARTICULARS.

Archive P 298

File No.: ~~P.F. 62,162.~~

Name: ORWELL, George.

Alias: BLAIR, Eric Arthur.

*Address: 1941. 77, Parliament Hill, N.W.

Identity No.: DFHA/97/1.

Nat.: British.

Born at: Motihari, Bengal.

on: 25.6.02.

*Occupation: 1922-1928. Indian Police.

*Employer: 1936. Journalist and Author.
1941. B.B.C.

Inf.: 1936. Communist Sympathiser.
1950. Died.

Traces
extracted:

CS.

REP.

Made by.....SMP/R/.....on.....29.6.53......

*Quote date.

This form, and any other papers filed on the left-hand side—except the Minute Sheet(s), index sheet, carding sheet and S. Form 239—should be transferred to a new volume.

S. Form 21B/rev. 12.52.

ON HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE

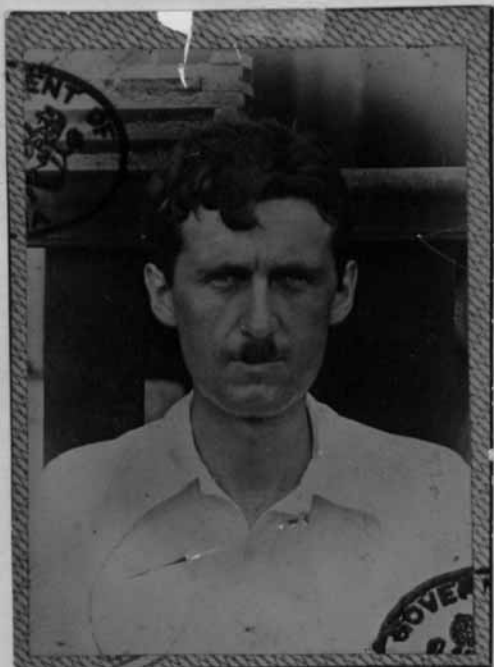
CONTENTS.

Photographs and Passport Particulars of ORWELL.

ECONOMY
OPEN by sliding right hand edge.
RE-USE with Economy Label.

CODE No. 27.22

SMP/R.. 29.6.53.



Eric Arthur Blais
& George Orwell

5

6

The whole of the Declaration and Marginal Particulars should be in the Applicant's own handwriting.

(A.)

This space is reserved for official use.

Surname only in Block Capitals.

- (a) Insert date and town where staying when filling in the form.
 (b) Christian names and surname of the applicant in full. (Surname in Block Capitals.)
 (c) In the case of a WIDOW, MARRIED WOMAN or one whose marriage is dissolved, the particulars of status and birth required at (d) are those of her LATE HUSBAND or FORMER HUSBAND, not of the applicant herself.
 (d) State exact national status, e.g., a British subject by birth or a British subject by naturalisation, British-protected person, etc. IN THE CASE OF A BRITISH SUBJECT BY NATURALISATION SEE REGULATION 7 AT BACK.

- (e) Wife and children should only be included if they do not possess separate Passports. Strike out the words in brackets in other cases.
 (f) [Strike out and initial which ever is not applicable.]
 (g) Note—All previous Passports must be accounted for.

- (h) Signature of applicant.
 The applicant must also write a specimen of his signature on the pink slip attached below marked **.

- (i) Name and qualification of person verifying the declaration (see Regulation 6 at back), viz:—
 Mayor, Magistrate, Priest, Justice of the Peace, Minister of Religion, Barrister-at-Law, Notary, Solicitor, Physician, Surgeon, etc., giving professional or business address.

Recommendations from members or officials of Banking Firms should bear the printed stamp of the Bank here below.

CAUTION.

† The attention of persons who are asked to sign this declaration is specially called to the fact that it can only be signed from personal knowledge of the applicant and not from information obtained from other persons.

Declaration to be made by Applicant for Passport.†

(In the case of children under the age of 16 years requiring a separate Passport, the Declaration must be made by the child's parent or guardian in a form (B) to be obtained upon application to the Passport Office.)

(a) Greenwich, December 8th 1936

*I, the Undersigned, (b) Eric ARTHUR BLAIR

at present residing at The Stores, Wallington, Nr. Baldock, Hertfordshire hereby declare that I am

(c) the son of late husband was and that my husband in former husband was

(d) British subject by birth having been born

at Motihari, Bengal, India on the 25th day of June 1903

(e) born within His Majesty's Dominions. (To be struck out in other cases.)

(f) my (his) father paternal grandfather having been born within His Majesty's Dominions

and not having lost the status of British subject thus acquired, I hereby apply for a Passport for travelling

to all European countries

for the purpose of Amusement, gathering literary material, etc.

(g) Accompanied by my wife (and children under the age of 16, as indicated in the margin, who do not possess separate Passports).

(f) I declare that I have not previously been granted any Passport whatever, and that I have made no other application for a Passport. E.A.B.

(g) I declare that all previous Passports granted to me have been surrendered for cancellation to a British Passport or Consular Officer, other than Passport No. , which is now attached for cancellation, and that I have made no other application for a Passport since the attached Passport was issued to me. E.A.B.

(h) Signed Eric A. Blair

†AND I, the Undersigned, (i) Laurence O'Hanrahan, Surgeon

of 49 Harte St. W. hereby declare that to the best of my

personal knowledge and belief the above-made declaration and description of the said Mr. Eric

Arthur Blair are true, and that I can from my personal knowledge of him vouch him

as a fit and proper person to receive a British Passport. I have known the applicant for 13 years.

Signed Laurence O'Hanrahan

PHOTOGRAPHS: Two small unmounted duplicate photographs of the applicant (and wife if to be included) must be sent, one of which should be certified and signed on the back by the guarantor, as follows: "I certify that this photograph is a true likeness of

IMPORTANT.

† Applicants, and persons recommending them, are warned that should any of the statements contained in their respective declarations prove to be untrue, the consequences to them may be serious.

Description of Applicant.

Age 33

Profession Novelist

Whether married, single or marriage dissolved Married

Usual place of residence The Stores, Wallington, Nr. Baldock, Hertfordshire

Place of birth Motihari, Bengal, India

Date of birth June 25th 1903

Height 6 feet 2 1/2 inches 1902

Colour of eyes Grey

Colour of hair Brown

Visible distinguishing marks or peculiarities Tattoo marks on back of hands.

Maiden name of woman who is or has been married (in Block Capitals)

Signature of applicant

CHANGE OF NAME.

If name has been changed by Deed Poll or otherwise the original name must be stated here

If there has been no change of name the word "None" must be written here None

Signature of applicant Eric A. Blair

Description of wife of Applicant, if to be included on the Passport.

Name in full

Age Returned to Passport

Profession Office

Place of birth

Date of birth

Height feet inches

Colour of eyes

Colour of hair

Visible distinguishing marks or peculiarities

Maiden name (in Block Capitals)

Signature of wife of applicant

Children under the age of 16 if to be included on this Passport.
 CHRISTIAN NAMES. SURNAME. DATE OF BIRTH. SEX.

Sign your name on the pink slip, which will be detached and affixed to the Passport when issued. Specimen signature of wife if to be included on the Passport.

F 642

22A

Note for file:

George ORWELL @ Eric Arthur BLAIR died
on the 21st. January, 1950.

HR Secretary:
17.11.52

(1793)Wt:Y32685/4230
11/51 800,000 JC&S
Ltd. Gp736/210
(REGIMITE)
Code 5-35-0

Asp/HRSec.
17.11.52

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AS I PLEASE: by George Orwell

FOR years past I have been an industrious collector of pamphlets, and a fairly steady reader of political literature of all kinds. The thing that strikes me more and more—and it strikes a lot of other people, too—is the extraordinary viciousness and dishonesty of political controversy in our time. I don't mean merely that controversies are acrimonious. They ought to be that when they are on serious subjects. I mean that almost nobody seems to feel that an opponent deserves a fair hearing or that the objective truth matters so long as you can score a neat debating point. When I look through my collection of pamphlets—Conservative, Communist, Catholic, Trotskyist, Pacifist, Anarchist or what-have-you—it seems to me that almost all of them have the same mental atmosphere, though the points of emphasis vary. Nobody is searching for the truth, everybody is putting forward a "case" with complete disregard for fairness or accuracy, and the most plainly obvious facts can be ignored by those who don't want to see them. The same propaganda tricks are to be found almost everywhere. It would take many pages of this paper merely to classify them, but here I draw attention to one very widespread controversial habit—disregard of an opponent's motives. The key-word here is "objectively."

* * *

WE are told that it is only people's objective actions that matter, and their subjective feelings are of no importance. Thus, pacifists, by obstructing the war effort, are "objectively" aiding the Nazis: and therefore the fact that they may be personally hostile to

Fascism is irrelevant. I have been guilty of saying this myself more than once. The same argument is applied to Trotskyists. Trotskyists are often credited, at any rate by Communists, with being active and conscious agents of Hitler; but when you point out the many and obvious reasons why this is unlikely to be true, the "objectively" line of talk is brought forward again. To criticise the Soviet Union helps Hitler: therefore "Trotskyism is Fascism." And when this has been established, the accusation of conscious treachery is usually repeated.

This is not only dishonest; it also carries a severe penalty with it. If you disregard people's motives, it becomes much harder to foresee their actions. For there are occasions when even the most misguided person can see the results of what he is doing. Here is a crude but quite possible illustration. A pacifist is working in some job which gives him access to important military information, and is approached by a German secret agent. In those circumstances his subjective feelings *do* make a difference. If he is subjectively pro-Nazi he will sell his country, and if he isn't, he won't. And situations essentially similar though less dramatic are constantly arising.

In my opinion a few pacifists are inwardly pro-Nazi, and extremist Left-wing parties will inevitably contain Fascist spies. The important thing is to discover *which* individuals are honest and which are not, and the usual blanket accusation merely makes this more difficult. The atmosphere of hatred in which controversy is conducted blinds people to considerations of this kind. To admit that an opponent might be both honest and intelligent is felt to be intolerable. It is more immediately satisfying to shout that he is a fool or a scoundrel, or both, than to find out what he is really like. It is this habit of mind, among other things, that has made political prediction in our time so remarkably unsuccessful.

Phone in P.F. on
BLAIR @ ORWELL.

LSD F2

31/45

Shirley
7-1-45

EXTRACT.

Loa

Extract for File No.: P.F. 62162 Name: ORWELL
Original in File No.: S.F. 464/69 v.2. International Serial: 1142, Dated: 19.2.44
al Youth Council in G.B.
Original from: S.B. Report Under Ref.: 400/42/53 dated 16.2.44
Extracted on: 11.5.44 by: MML Section: R.4.

Extract from S.B. report re International Youth
Council and World Youth Council, dated 16.2.44.

N/C

..... There are lectures on a variety of
subjects, exhibitions of matters of topical interest
and social activities including a weekly dance.

During the last four months the following
have given or been invited to give lectures etc. at
the Centre.

..... George ORWELL.

13.5.44

19A

P.R.3.

The Security Service have records of this man, but raise no objection to this appointment.

M.I.5.
23.Oct.43.

G.E. Hogg
Sgd. G.E. Hogg,
Capt.

26/24
✓ 7/11/43
caA/23-10-43

REQUEST FOR LOOK-UP.

REGISTRY. Please look-up undermentioned. *Attach further papers.

If NT is registration number required?.....

Section..... G.2.a. Signature..... E.M.C. Date..... 18.10.43.

P.R.3.

* Delete if inapplicable.

Name

BLAIR, Eric Arthur.

Address

10A. Mortimer Crescent, N.W.6.

Born: 25.6.03. British.

Further

On staff of Sunday Observer.

Particulars

To be accredited correspondent to visit Allied Force H.Q.

TRACES.

— Eric Arthur X ref. to ORWELL George

PF. 62/62 ORWELL G.V. SZ. 1832. 10.1.29.

? — Eric J^{ec}

SF. 427/06/1. V. 29. 738c — F2A 17-12

Signature..... H.V. Date..... 18/10.

Continue overleaf if necessary.

FOR REGISTRY USE.

Bo R⁴
Amalgamate 83 182
with this P+ union
file to 12a/wo

Being sent
22a/111
12.10.43
Conn. by.....
B5/18/10

File No. PF. 62162.

SERIAL 12a & 13a;

has been removed from this file.

FILED IN ERROR.

SEE 218,808. ORWELL, Charles.

Removed by PFB/R4.

Date 21.1.44.

11a 7

P.F.62162/C.3.

^a
18 February, 1942.

Dear

N.T. inf 23/2 *Feb*

In reply to your letter of 10th February we know of no reason why Mrs. Eileen BLAIR should not be employed by the Ministry of Food and I return her application form herewith.

May I take this opportunity to ask you to arrange for the full particulars on the vetting forms to be provided when these cases are submitted. It makes it very difficult for us to identify the candidates satisfactorily unless this information is provided in full and, as a result, our replies are considerably delayed.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. H. SAMS.

f D.L.R. OSBORN.

L.A. Bent, Esq.,
Ministry of Food,
Establishment Division,
Colwyn Bay,
Denbighshire.

✓
11



10a
MINISTRY OF FOOD
Establishment Division,

Telegrams :

Colwyn Bay.

Telephone : Colwyn Bay,

Any reply to this communication should quote the following reference :

COLWYN BAY,
DENBIGHSHIRE.

10th February, 1942.

SECRET

Dear Osborn,

I am enclosing herewith a form in respect of an officer shortly to be employed at the Headquarters of the Ministry of Food, a Mrs. Blair. Since her husband writes under the name of George Orwell, Mrs. Blair is sometimes also referred to as Mrs. George Orwell.

Would you kindly make the usual enquiries and let us know the results as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

L. A. Bent.

D.L.R. Osborn, Esq.,
Box 500,
G.P.O.,
Oxford.

✓

COPY.

~~1008~~

MINISTRY OF FOOD.

Eileen BLAIR (Mrs.)

Born 25.9.1905 South Shields,
Co. Durham.

British

Address 111 Langford Court, Abbey Rd.,
N.W.8.

YARA 480 664.

Formerly Free lance work on B.B.C.
Scripts.

Min. of Information. Examiner A. (in
charge of London Liaison Dept)

Free lance journalism.

Own agency for editing M.S.S. for
publication.

✓
31

I.P.I.

8a

You may be interested in the following information which comes from a very delicate source: - Mulk Raj ANAND is apparently trying for a job in the Indian section of the Middle East department of the B.B.C.

English broadcasts to India are, I believe, under the direction of Z.A. BOKHARY of this department. Working with BOKHARY is an Englishman named Eric Arthur BLAIR formerly of the Burma Police who has a good many Indian friends. He is believed to have ~~been~~ employment at the B.B.C. to K.S.SHELVANKAR and Iqbal Gur Partab SINGH, both of whom refused. He is a friend of A. SUBRAMANIAN.

Eric BLAIR is better known as George ORWELL, author and journalist, he has been a bit of an anarchist in his day and in touch with extremist elements. But he has lately thrown in his lot with Victor GOLLANCZ who as you probably know has severed all connection with the Communist Party. BLAIR undoubtedly strong Left Wing views but he is a long way from orthodox Communism.

L.Ogilvie

F2a

4/2/42

✓

23 JAN 1941

SPECIAL BRANCH
METROPOLITAN POLICE

23 JAN 1942

ENCL

24 JAN 1942

TO

REF

F2A

P.F. 62162

20th

January,

42

Eric BLAIR.

The following information has been received:

XX PF 62162
"Eric BLAIR, who is in the Indian Section of the Middle East Department of the B.B.C., and, under the direction of Z.A. BOKHARY (a Punjabi from Lahore), is in charge of broadcasts in English to India, has been telling some of his Indian friends that his department was endeavouring to get Mulk Raj ANAND on the staff, but that the India Office was strongly opposed to the appointment. He assured his friends, however, that he was going to challenge the right of the India Office to dictate as to which people should be employed in his department. BLAIR considers that M.R. ANAND is a well-qualified candidate for the post.

BLAIR was at one time in the Burma Police. He left that service for some unknown reason, and drifted to Paris and London, and has written a few books on his experiences, under the name of ORWELL. He was practically penniless when he found work with the B.B.C.

This man has advanced communist views, and several of his Indian friends say that they have often seen him at communist meetings. He dresses in a bohemian fashion both at his office and in his leisure hours. He is particularly friendly with A. SUBRAMANIAN, and has been instrumental in securing occasional broadcasts (presumably in Tamil) for the latter.

BLAIR has also offered employment at the B.B.C. to K.S. SHELIVANKAR and Iqbal Gur Partab SINGH; the former turned it down as he did not think he would pass the "India Office security test", and the latter declined the invitation as he felt it might re-act unfavourably on his political career".

Special branch records show that BLAIR is identical with Eric Arthur BLAIR, subject of 301/NWC/683.

This file shows that BLAIR first came under notice of the Wigan Borough Police in February, 1936, in connection with his communist activities in Wigan. Special Branch report dated 11th March, 1936 on 301/NWC/683 (a copy of which was supplied to M.I.5), shows that BLAIR was born at Motihari, Bengal, India, on 25th June, 1902, his father, Richard Walmesley BLAIR, being a former Indian Civil Servant. BLAIR junior was educated in this country (at Wellington and Eton) and in 1922 was appointed Assistant Superintendent of Police in Burma, but resigned in 1927 without giving any official reason for terminating his appointment, but is reported to have told his intimate friends that he could not bring himself to arrest persons for committing acts which he did not think were wrong. After resigning from the Burma Police, he seems to have eked out a precarious living as a free-lance journalist in France and wrote two books published by Victor Gollancz, Ltd. of London. After his return to England he became a master at several

C.S.

2
preparatory schools, but gave up this work in 1933 owing to ill-health, and from 1934 devoted himself to literary work. A subsequent report on the file shows that in March, 1937, BLAIR was fighting in Spain with the P.O.U.M. contingent.

BLAIR is also mentioned on Special Branch report, 402/41/79 dated 10th March, 1941, (copy sent to M.I. 5), as having reviewed a book written by Richard TERRELL, a well-known communist, on whom M.I.5 asked for a report.

[Signature]
Sergeant.

Submitted.

[Signature]
Inspector.

[Signature]
SUPERINTENDENT.

BLAIR was at one time in the Burma Police. He left that service for some unknown reason, and drifted to Paris and London, and has written a few books on his experiences, under the name of ORWELL. He was practically penniless when he found work with the B.B.C.

This man has advanced communist views, and several of his Indian friends say that they have often seen him at communist meetings. He dresses in a Bohemian fashion both at his office and in his leisure hours. He is particularly friendly with A. SUBRAMANIAN, and has been instrumental in securing occasional broadcasts (presumably in Tamil) for the latter.

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Replies by George ORWELL to
Questionnaire issued by "LEFT",
the I.L.P. paper, November 1941.

N.B. ORWELL'S answers to questions 1, 7, 8, 13, 20, 21
and 22 show that he is not at present in sympathy
with the C.P. W.O.F. 3/1/42

Catalogue Reference:kv/2/2699

QUESTIONNAIRE

	W. Ballantine	H. N. Brailsford	Fenner Brockway	J. F. Horrabin
1 Is the present Anglo-German conflict fundamentally an imperialist war?	Yes	(See note)	Yes	Yes
2 Whether imperialist or not, is it unimportant to British workers whether Britain or Germany triumphs?	Certainly Not	No	No, but there is third alternative of Socialist Revolution Yes, but ditto.	No
3 Is there any important difference, from the worker's standpoint, between British Imperialism and German Nazism?	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
4 Is the struggle of China, Norway or Greece imperialistic?	No	No	No	No
5 Does it become so because assisted by Great Britain?	No	No	No, if their independence be maintained	No
6 Should Socialists support the British war effort?	No	Yes	No	Yes
7 Should Socialists support the present British Government?	No	Yes	No	Yes
8 Should Socialists support strikes which have a legitimate industrial objective, even if they retard the war effort?	Under National Government. Yes	No	Yes, but weighing the objective situation	Depends on the merits of the case
9 Is a Peace by Negotiation desirable, at any price?	No	No	No; work for socialist revolution	No
10 Is a Peace by Negotiation possible at present, on terms which would not leave Hitler master of continental Europe and with a free hand to continue the war on one front against the U.S.S.R.?	No	No	No; ditto	No
11 Has the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. affected the issue of a negotiated peace now?	Yes	No	Yes; ditto.	Yes
12 Is the prospect of a negotiated peace likely to stimulate or retard revolutionary opposition to Nazism in the occupied countries?	Would retard revolutionary opposition	No	Retard; ditto.	Would tend to retard
13 If the U.S.S.R. is defeated, is the Anglo-American combination likely to achieve victory?	No	(see note)	?	Yes—after a long war
14 Would victory then be possible by mainly military means?	No	Yes	Doubtful	No
15 If so, is the present British leadership adopting and developing those means with sufficient speed?	No	No	No	—
16 Is the alternative of a psychological offensive a practical one?	It is a possibility	No	Yes, if socialist example given	Not as an alternative
17 Is it an alternative or a supplementary method? i.e., would revolt be possible throughout the Continent without the continuation of the armed struggle?	Armed struggle would have to continue	No	Alternative, though military aid would be given to revolting peoples	Supplementary
18 Is the present Government adopting and developing this method adequately?	No	No	No	Doubtful—not much knowledge of foreign broadcasts
19 If not, is this Government basically incapable of using this method?	Yes	Yes	Yes	(See note)
20 Is the present Government, if victorious, likely to establish a durable peace?	No	No	No	Not by itself, but U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. will come into it

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QUESTIONNAIRE

	Ethel Mannin	George Orwell	George Padmore	Raymond Postgate	Herbert Read	C. A. Smith	Joseph Southall	Tom Wintringham
1 Is the present Anglo-German conflict fundamentally an imperialist war?	Yes	No	Yes	No	(See note)	Yes	Yes	(See note)
2 Whether imperialist or not, is it unimportant to British workers whether Britain or Germany triumphs?	No	No	No, but main enemy at home	Not unimportant	No	No	Neither can triumph	It is important that Fascism should not triumph
3 Is there any important difference, from the worker's standpoint, between British Imperialism and German Nazism?	No	Yes	Yes for British, no for colonial	Yes	Yes	Yes	They assist each other Greece only	(See note)
4 Is the struggle of China, Norway or Greece imperialistic?	You can't lump these together Is Britain assisting China?	No	No	No	No	No	Britain supports reactionary elements	No
5 Does it become so because assisted by Great Britain?	No	No	(See note)	No	No	No	Britain supports reactionary elements	No
6 Should Socialists support the British war effort?	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes, but call it the anti-fascist war effort	Yes, at this juncture	No	Yes
7 Should Socialists support the present British Government?	No	Not unreservedly	No	In general. Yes	No	No	No	No
8 Should Socialists support strikes which have a legitimate industrial objective, even if they retard the war effort?	Yes	Yes	Yes, Socialists cannot be strike-breakers	No	Yes, Socialism first, now and always	No	Yes	No
9 Is a Peace by Negotiation desirable, at any price?	Yes	No	With Hitler No	Not now	No	No	Yes, at any price	No
10 Is a Peace by Negotiation possible at present, on terms which would not leave Hitler master of continental Europe and with a free hand to continue the war on one front against the U.S.S.R.?	—	No	No	No	No	No	(See note)	No
11 Has the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. affected the issue of a negotiated peace now?	No	No	No	No	Yes	Depends on outcome of Russo-German struggle	Not much, if at all	Yes, made a reactionary attempt at negotiation more probable
12 Is the prospect of a negotiated peace likely to stimulate or retard revolutionary opposition to Nazism in the occupied countries?	No	Retard	Retard	Retard	Retard	Retard	Stimulate	Retard
13 If the U.S.S.R. is defeated, is the Anglo-American combination likely to achieve victory?	How the hell do I know—or anyone else	Yes	—	Possible	Doubtful, as at present governed	No	No	No
14 Would victory then be possible by mainly military means?	—	No	—	Possibly not more	Doubtful	Probably not	For Hitler perhaps No, it cannot	No
15 If so, is the present British leadership adopting and developing those means with sufficient speed?	—	No	(See note)	No	No	No	No	No
16 Is the alternative of a psychological offensive a practical one?	Not with this Government	?	(See note)	Not as alternative	No	Not as alternative	Yes	Yes
17 Is it an alternative or a supplementary method? i.e., would revolt be possible throughout the Continent without the continuation of the armed struggle?	(a) Alternative (b) Yes	No	(See note)	(a) Supplementary (b) No	No	(a) Supplementary (b) No	Yes	No
18 Is the present Government adopting and developing this method adequately?	No !!!	No	(See note)	No	No	No	Not at all	No
19 If not, is this Government basically incapable of using this method?	No !!!	Yes	(See note)	I suspect it is	Yes, it is basically split-minded	Yes	Yes, because our real Government is "Big Business"	Probably
20 Is the present Government, if victorious, likely to establish a durable peace?	No	Probably	An imperialist peace	Uncertain	No	No	No	No

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QUESTIONNAIRE

	W. Ballantine	H. N. Brailsford	Fenner Brockway	J. F. Horrabin
21 Is the U.S.S.R., if its resistance is maintained, likely to dominate the situation at the end of the war and ensure the establishment of Soviet Communism over large areas of Europe?	U.S.S.R. and the workers would dominate situation	Possibly	Only if European revolution occurs	It might—but who can say for certain?
22 Will it be possible to avoid the dominance of either Imperialism or Stalinism at the end of the war?	Yes	Difficult	Yes, by British lead with libertarian Socialism	Both may be affected by course of events The main organised body, yes; but there's a lot of unorganised opinion which may yet count
23 Is the British Labour Movement the main bulwark against such a situation?	Yes	Yes	Yes, at present	Yes; if industrial and political wings work together
24 Can the British Labour Movement exercise a decisive influence on the course of the war while in a minority position in Parliament?	Only in conjunction with a strong Trade Union Movement	Yes, if it could be awakened	Yes	(See note)
25 Is a Socialist, or a predominantly Socialist, Government possible of achievement during the course of the war? ..	Yes	No	Yes	(See note)
26 Would it necessarily strengthen or weaken the war effort?	Would strengthen war effort	I cannot see far into the future	It would begin Socialist Peace Offensive (See 17)	It would strengthen it—or it would not come to power Only in above conditions
27 Could such a Government be obtained by constitutional means—i.e., by a General Election?	No	No	Yes, possibly	It might
28 If so, could mass pressure force the present Government to face a General Election?	Yes	No	Yes, possibly	IF ... yes
29 If not, should the formation of such a Government by revolutionary means be attempted if suitable conditions arose?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Who knows? They are not in sight
30 Are such conditions likely to arise?	Yes	I can't see far into the future	No—then Europe will also be ripening for revolution	It would be a risky gamble
31 Would such an attempt fatally weaken the war effort and enable Hitler to strike a decisive blow?	No		Yes	Maybe—but the Gestapo is damn well organised
32 Would it be probable that by that stage Hitler's own internal position would also be extremely insecure? ..	Possibly		Yes	For Socialism and victory over Hitler, yes, Not merely anti-government
33 Should all Socialists who believe the present Government incapable of defeating Nazism, or who believe that Socialist methods would shorten the war and win the peace, unite in a common front for an intense propaganda drive? ..	Certainly		Yes	It might become useful—I doubt the good effect at present
34 Should this drive be linked with support for "Win the War by Socialism" candidates at present bye-elections? ..	Yes		Not "Win the war" but end the war	Decisive?—I don't know
35 Could such a drive exert a decisive influence on the course of the war?	Yes		Yes	

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QUESTIONNAIRE

	Ethel Mannin	George Orwell	George Padmore	Raymond Postgate	Herbert Read	C. A. Smith	Joseph Southall	Tom Wintringham
21 Is the U.S.S.R., if its resistance is maintained, likely to dominate the situation at the end of the war and ensure the establishment of Soviet Communism over large areas of Europe?	Impossible to say	No	(See note)	Probable	I hope not	Don't know but hope not if Soviet Communism means Stalinism Depends chiefly on British working class, assuming that Hitler is defeated	Improbable	If there is no Socialist alternative, Yes
22 Will it be possible to avoid the dominance of either Imperialism or Stalinism at the end of the war?	—	Yes	(See above)	Yes	Yes		Too soon to say	Depends on emergence of any vital alternative
23 Is the British Labour Movement the main bulwark against such a situation?	No!!!	Important, but not the main one	(See note)	Yes	Not under its present leadership	At present, yes	No	(See Note)
24 Can the British Labour Movement exercise a decisive influence on the course of the war while in a minority position in Parliament?	It could	Yes	No, it lacks the will to power	Yes	No	Yes, if its industrial strength is properly used	Yes, with other leadership when it awakes	(See note)
25 Is a Socialist, or a predominantly Socialist, Government possible of achievement during the course of the war? ..	Yes, but not revolutionary Socialist	Yes	(See note)	Don't know	(See note)	If the British position worsens, probably, Yes	Not yet	Yes
26 Would it necessarily strengthen or weaken the war effort?	These slogans!	Strengthen	(See note)	'necessarily' neither	Strengthen	Strengthen, if achieved without civil war	It would stop it	Strengthen
27 Could such a Government be obtained by constitutional means—i.e., by a General Election?	No	Yes	(See note)	I think not	Yes	Probably not by this means only	No, by passive resistance General election useless	Yes
28 If so, could mass pressure force the present Government to face a General Election?	Yes (if you delete the "if so")	Yes	(See note)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes, by general strike	Yes
29 If not, should the formation of such a Government by revolutionary means be attempted if suitable conditions arose?	Yes	Yes	Certainly	No	Yes	Yes	Yes, unless the pluto-crats stop in time	If—of course
30 Are such conditions likely to arise?	If the war goes on long enough!	No	Let us hope so	No	Only if defeat is imminent	Don't know	Yes, unless the pluto-crats stop in time	No
31 Would such an attempt fatally weaken the war effort and enable Hitler to strike a decisive blow?	No	Not if the suitable conditions existed	(See note)	Yes	No	Not necessarily; depends on circumstances	Yes, to first half; No, to second	(See note)
32 Would it be probable that by that stage Hitler's own internal position would also be extremely insecure? ..	Probably	No	see 31	No one knows	Not necessarily	No	Yes	That depends largely on us
33 Should all Socialists who believe the present Government incapable of defeating Nazism, or who believe that Socialist methods would shorten the war and win the peace, unite in a common front for an intense propaganda drive? ..	Yes	Yes	Yes	(See note)	Yes	Yes, but Socialists not Stalinists	Yes, of course	Yes
34 Should this drive be linked with support for "Win the War by Socialism" candidates at present bye-elections? ..	Yes	Yes	Has propaganda value	I would not approve such efforts	Yes	Yes	No, you cannot "Win the War"	(See note)
35 Could such a drive exert a decisive influence on the course of the war?	Who can say?	Probably	The decisive factor will be hunger	Don't know	Yes	Don't know	It should stop the mad business, nothing less will suffice	Yes

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H.113

REFERENCE NO : P.F. 62162.

SECTION : F.2a/EHC.

SURNAME : BLAIR

CHRISTIAN NAMES : Eric Arthur

PH please
5a
} @ George ORWELL.

PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH : 25.6.02 in Bengal, India.

PROFESSION : Journalist and Author.

ADDRESS : 77, Parliament Hill, N.W.

Where known, the number and date of passport, or any particulars of travel abroad, should be given.

Went to India in 1922 and back to England on leave in 1927. Shortly afterwards went to France.

On 7.7.27 he was issued with British Indian passport No. 11542 at Rangoon, and in 1932 he submitted this to the Passport Office, London, for renewal.

BLAIR

157953/36

*Photostat of
last application form
(1936) + photographs
pl.
etc*

S.3.a.

Will you please obtain Passport Office papers, if any, for the above mentioned individual.

(Signature) W. Sproule,

(date) 18.8.41.

*15- W
2-9-11.
S. Form 101.*

*LFB
6-9-41.*

COPY.

4a

DEPARTMENT B.B.C.

* BLAIR, Eric Arthur *

Born 25.6.1903 Motihari, India
British.

Father British.

Mother French by birth, now British.
Wife British.

* Address 111 Langford Court, *
Abbey Rd., N.W.1.

Nat. Reg. No. DFHA 97/1

Applicant for employment as
Assistant, Empire Dept.

Previous employment: 1922-28:
Indian Imperial Police.

Lately: Worked for Ministry of
Information.

NOTHING RECORDED AGAINST.

Sgt DLRO

SS

C R O S S R E F E R E N C E

P.F. 62162

SUBJECT: ORWELL, George. @ BLAIR Eric Arthur.

Extract from Press Cutting from the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. dated 28.9.1938.

George ORWELL was one of the signatories to a Joint Peace Manifesto issued by the Peace Pledge Union, the Society of Friends, the No More War Movement, the Independent Labour Party, the International African Bureau, the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

Original in O.F. 3/14 V.1 39a dated 28.9.1938

S. Form 81.

J.E.M.

7.8.41.

20.8.41
JSC
m

2a

COPY. Original filed in S.F. 464/34 V.1 29a.

From S.B. Report on BLAIR @ ORWELL.

dated 25.8.1936.

With reference to minute 2 of the attached file respecting Eric Arthur BLAIR @ George ORWELL and premises at 1, South End Road, Hampstead, occupied by Francis Gergory Westrope who carries on business at that address as a bookseller under the style of 'Booklovers' Corner':-

The name 'Booklovers' Corner' and the name Francis G. Westrope is painted over the address in question. The name 'Booklovers' Corner' is also shewn on stationery used by Westrope, a specimen of which is submitted.

The Registrar of Business Names has been consulted, and states that in his opinion, the words 'Booklovers' Corner' do not constitute a Business Name, and he does not consider that Westrope is contravening the Registration of Business Names Act, 1916.

Prior to giving this opinion, the Registrar had said that stationery bearing a Business Name brought the user within the Act, and in view of this, Westrope was instructed to register the name 'Booklovers' Corner'. He has not yet done so, but the Registrar states that if he makes application to register the name, his application will not be refused.

In these circumstances, I respectfully suggest that no further action be taken by the police.

J.E.M.
7.8.41.

2BC
5W

~~B. Ad6.~~
Sergeant Sutlee called this afternoon. The Chief Constable of Wigan has come across E.A.BLAIR addressing Communist Party meetings in his area, and has asked S.B. if they could supply any information about him.

I told Sergeant Sutlee briefly the gist of our information. He will let us have a full report in due course.

S.10
28.2.36

fly



FOREIGN OFFICE.

Telephone:
VICTORIA 8540.

Telegraphic Address:
"TELPASOF, PARL., LONDON."

Please quote Reference.....**JWS**



PASSPORT OFFICE,

1, QUEEN ANNE'S GATE BUILDINGS,

DARTMOUTH STREET,

WESTMINSTER,

LONDON, S.W.1.

11th January 1929.

Dear Miller,

With reference to your letter of the 10th instant (M.C), the only records we have in the name of Mr. E.A. Blair are as follows:-

(1) Edward Alexander Blair, born at Malta on May 16, 1909, who was granted passport No. 763 at Mainz on June 22, 1928. No previous passport was produced at the time of the issue of that document.

(2) Eric Arthur Blair. On the 7th May 1928 we were requested to amend passport No. 11542, issued at Rangoon in 1927, to show his profession as "journalist", Mr. Blair having resigned from the Indian Police on January 1, 1928.

The address in Paris - 6, Rue du Pot de Fer - would not appear to convey anything to us.

Yours sincerely,

Captain H.M. Miller,
New Scotland Yard,
S.W.1.

10/2/29

12/1

SS

825 18.1.29

Dear Stafford,

M.C.

10.1.29.

Could you very kindly let me see the passport particulars of Mr. E.A. BLAIR, who is at present residing at 6, Rue du Pot de Fer in Paris?

Yours sincerely,

May

PN

78

17
18.1.29

X-817 B
Dear V.V.,

D.B./S.

14.1.29.

A Mr. E.A. BLAIR of 6, rue du Pot de Fer, Paris 5, is offering to act as Paris correspondent in the "Workers' Life". I cannot identify him at all from our records or definitely through Passport Office, to whom the address 6, rue du Pot de Fer conveys nothing. They have, however, traces of the following individuals of the surname and initials:

(1) Edward Alexander Blair, born at Malta on May 16, 1909, who was granted passport No. 763 at Mainz on June 22, 1928. No previous passport was produced at the time of the issue of that document.

(2) Eric Arthur Blair. On the 7th May, 1928, ^{at 75a} ~~we~~ were requested to amend passport No. 11542, issued at Rangoon in 1927, to show his profession as "journalist", Mr. Blair having resigned from the Indian Police on January 1, 1928.)

I wonder if you could very kindly get something for us about this person?

Yours sincerely,

ay

SZ/ 1832

Dear Stafford,

M.C./S

15.1.29.

X 817 B.
To Worker's Life
p.a. Registry

Very many thanks indeed for your JWS. of 11th
January, 1929, about the two Blairs. It is interesting
about the ex-Indian Policeman "journalist". Investigations
are proceeding.

Yours sincerely,

HS

~~HS~~
PM

es

83

Secret.

In reply state NUMBER and DATE.

52/ 1832

CX/12650/1988, dated 8.2.29.

V.

Captain Miller,
Scotland Yard.

E.A. BLAIR.

Reference your D.B./S., dated 14.1.29., who is reported by you to be anxious to work in Paris for the "Workers' Life":

reports that Eric Arthur BLAIR was born on 25.6.02. at Montjherj, Bengal, India, his parents being Richard Walinsley Blair and Ida Mabel Blair née Ijmousin. He is a single man and lodges at 6, Rue du Pot de Fer, Paris, having arrived in France on 7.6.28. BLAIR apparently states that he is the Paris correspondent for the "Daily Herald", "Daily Express", "G.K's Weekly", but he makes no mention of the "Workers' Weekly".

BLAIR, states, wrote three articles in the "Progrès Civique" of 29.12.28., 5th and 12th January, 1929, entitled "La Grande Misère de l'Ouvrier Britannique". The first article dealt with unemployment in England, which, according to Blair, is due to the war; the second with how the unemployed tramp spends his day; the third with London's beggars. He spends his time reading various news papers, among which is "L'Humanité", but he has not so far been seen to mix with Communists in Paris and until he does considers that the French will not interfere with him.

THIS IS A COPY
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT RETAINED
IN DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3 (4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1968. AUGUST 2006.

1a
2444
SPECIAL BRANCH
METROPOLITAN POLICE
12 MAR 1936

Eric

11th

March

1936.

Arthur BLAIR

@ George

ORWELL.

301/NWC/683.

With reference to the attached correspondence from the Chief Constable, Wigan, respecting Eric A. BLAIR, alias George ORWELL :-

Enquiry shews that this man's correct name is Eric Arthur Blair. He is by occupation a journalist and author, and writes under the name of George Orwell.

He was born at Motihari, Bengal, India, on 25-6-1902, his father being Richard Walmsley Blair, a former Indian Civil Servant, who on retirement settled at Southwold, Suffolk.

Blair was educated at St. Cyprian's School, Eastbourne, from September 1911 until December 1916, and for a short time in 1917 he was at Wellington College. Later in the same year he went to Eton College, and remained there until December 1921.

On leaving Eton, he applied for employment in the Indian Police Service, and in 1922 he was appointed an assistant superintendent of police in Burma. He served in this capacity until the latter part of 1927, when he returned on leave to England. Whilst on leave, he telegraphed direct to his local government in India for permission to resign his appointment, and with the authority of the Secretary of State for India, this was granted, his resignation dating from 1-1-1928. Blair gave no official reason for terminating his appointment, but he is reported to have told his intimate friends that he could not bring himself to arrest persons for committing acts which he

JHA
12

did not think were wrong.

Shortly after resigning from the Indian Police, Blair went to France, and for some time eked out a precarious living as a free lance journalist. Whilst in Paris, he took an interest in the activities of the French Communist Party, and spent a good deal of time studying "La Humanité". Information is not available to shew whether he was an active supporter of the revolutionary movement in France, but it is known that whilst there, he offered his services to the "Workers' Life", the forerunner of the "Daily Worker", as Paris correspondent.

During his stay in Paris, he also collected part material for a book entitled "A Down and Out in London and Paris", which he wrote under the nom de plume, G. Orwell. Under the same style, he has recently completed a book called "Burmese Days", which deals with his experiences in Burma. Both the above books are published by Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 14, Henrietta Street, W.C., a firm which specialises in Left Wing literature.

Following his stay in Paris, Blair returned to London, and spent some time living the life of a 'down and out' to obtain the necessary material to complete the book mentioned above.

In 1932, he became a master at a preparatory school known as "The Hawthorns", Church Road, Hayes, Middlesex, and remained there for a year, leaving at the end of this period to take a similar position at another preparatory school known as Fray's College, Harefield Road, Uxbridge, Middlesex. He continued as a master at this school until the end of 1933, when he became ill, principally through his experiences as a 'down and out', and for a time he was a patient at the Uxbridge and District Cottage Hospital.

On being discharged from hospital in January 1934, Blair went to Suffolk to recuperate, and gave his address

N.T.
as 36, High Street, Southwold.

He later returned to London, and has since devoted himself to literary work, and for some time has been living with a Mrs. Rosalind Harriet Obermeyer and a woman named Janet Gimson at 77, Parliament Hill, N.W. ^{21/7/66}

DECLASSIFIED
19 SEP 1960

Special Branch records contain no reference to Gimson, but Obermeyer is reported to have left for Russia on 11-6-1932.

On 7-7-1927, Blair was issued with British Indian passport No. 11542 at Rangoon, valid until 7-7-1932. On 16-7-1932, he submitted this document to the Passport Office, London for renewal, and was sent the usual renewal form for completion. This has not been returned, and his passport is still at the Passport Office.

The address, 1, South End Road, Hampstead, is a lock-up bookshop carried on under the style "Booklovers' Corner" by Francis Greaves Westrope, who resides above the shop at No. 3, Warwick Mansions. Enquiry has revealed that Westrope and Blair are on friendly terms, and the latter is known to spend a good deal of time at the shop; he has, on occasions when Westrope has been away, conducted the business.

Metropolitan Police records contain no reference to either Westrope or Blair. The former, however, is known to hold socialist views, and considers himself an 'intellectual'.

Westrope is not registered as conducting an accommodation address, and there is no reason to believe that he is doing so for reward. The amount of correspondence delivered to him is small, but it is possible that he forwards letters to his socialist acquaintances without payment, as he no doubt did for Blair.

The name "Booklovers' Corner" is not registered

under the Registration of Business Names Act, 1916. Westrope has not been approached, and no enquiries have been made at 77, Parliament Hill. In view of the possibility of Westrope handling correspondence of a revolutionary character, it is respectfully suggested that the question of his registering the name "Booklovers' Corner" be held in abeyance.

The passport description of Blair is :-

born 25-6-1902, height 6' 2", eyes grey, hair brown, tattoo marks on backs of hands.

Six copies of his passport photograph are submitted.

Submitted.

for submission
Inspector.

W. L. L. L.
Superintendent.

W. L. L. L.
P.S.

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